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602 attempted liberties with people who did not belong in the category of the "joking relationship" they would stop him immediately, saying, "What joking relation am I to you" (*Djagu' nîk' idajûgwadja*)!

It is impossible to determine the significance of the "joking relationship." Two points of interest may be referred to, however: First, that it existed between a person and such close relatives as the children of his father's sister and his mother's brothers and their children, on the one hand, and his relatives by marriage only, as his brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, on the other; and second, that his mother's brother was at the same time a person with whom he was on particularly intimate terms. With regard to the first point, the author suggests the following explanation: Both groups just mentioned had this in common—they did not belong to the man's clan and with the exception of their mother's brother they did not belong to any individuals but those of their own generation. Now we know
● [58a] that the prohibition of marriage into a man's mother's clan extended only to members of her generation and that theoretically, at least, he could marry her brother's children. In the same way the children of a man's father's sister, belonging as they did to the side into which he had to marry and not belonging to the generation of his father, belonged also to the group into which he theoretically might marry. The author has never heard any Winnebago state that a man may not marry any of the individuals included in the "joking relationship," with the exception of his sister-in-law, but he feels certain that such marriage would be considered improper, although equally certain that it would not be regarded as incest, as would be the case if a person were to marry the son of his mother's sister or of his father's brother. The suggestion is offered, therefore, that the "joking relationship" implies, first, close relationship of individuals who have different clan membership, and, second, perhaps, the possibility of marriage. If there is any explanation for the existence of the relationship between a man and his mother's brother I feel that it is probably to be sought in the first of these suggestions. The second is really advanced merely to suggest some reason for the grouping together of blood relations with relations by marriage.

The "joking relationship" is very peculiar from the point of view of a European, and for that reason it is perhaps likely that we exaggerate its importance. In actual practice joking was probably indulged in only during the first moments after meeting, except by the habitual punster. An important psychological factor may have been the opportunity for relaxation it afforded an individual who was constantly surrounded by close relatives in intercourse with whom he had to observe at all times strict rules of propriety.

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841 From other information obtained how-
534 ever, it appears that women were married to these same lovers after the former left the menstrual lodge, so that the presence of men in these lodges may be taken either as a part of the wooing or as one of the methods of marriage. Some theorists may be inclined to look on this feature of the practices connected with the menstrual lodge as a survival of a "women's house." To those the fact may be emphasized that it is only a few times in the life of a woman that such a feature exists, because she is married shortly after leaving the lodge.[6]

MARRIAGE

582 Girls were usually married as soon as they reached marriageable age, and the same was probably true of men. In most cases marriage was arranged by the parents of the young people, and it rarely
584 happened that the latter refused to abide by the decision—a fact that seems to have been due not so much to implicit obedience as to the wise precautions taken by the parents in mating their children. If, however, the young people absolutely refused to abide by their parents' choice, the latter always yielded. In former times children were betrothed to each other at an early age. At the betrothal presents were exchanged between the parents of the prospective bride and groom. The girl was said to be *doḥere'ra*.

595 Generally a man took but one wife, although he was permitted to marry more than one if he wished. In polygamous marriages the second wife was usually a niece or a sister of the first wife. According to a very reliable informant it was the wife herself who often induced her husband to marry her own niece. This she did if she noticed that he was getting tired of her or losing his interest in her.[7]

585 There was no ceremony connected with marriage. As soon as the customary presents were exchanged, the man came to the woman's lodge and the marriage was consummated.

A man generally lived with his parents-in-law during the first two years after his marriage. During these two years he was practically
591 the servant of his father-in-law, hunting, fishing, and performing
[583] minor services for him. Many Winnebago interpreted these enforced services of a son-in-law as part of his marriage obligations toward his father-in-law. After the first two years he returned to

[6] Were it not for the fact that his informant in this case was exceedingly reliable the writer would be inclined to regard with suspicion the statement as to the use of the menstrual lodge as a rendezvous for lovers. It seems, however, that the very fact that the informant shows so great abhorrence of the matters would have prevented him from attributing to men intimacy with women at this time had there been any doubt in his mind on the subject. Nevertheless his statement on the point under discussion seems peculiar, and the author would not be surprised if he had exaggerated greatly the number of men willing to brave the bad luck and weakness incident on contact with women during the menstrual period.

[7] As one of my informants said, "A man can marry a woman and her niece. If the man is not steady and goes around with other women, it is customary for the wife to call her niece, and she would marry her aunt's husband. This is done to steady the man. In this way one or the other will always be with him. The same is true of sisters."

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has gone so far that a large number of individuals would probably deny to-day that the Hawk and the Warrior clan are one and the same. Again, among the Osage, Kansa, and Quapaw we find Sun and Star clans, and, if we were to imagine that for some reason or another the latter type of name became popular, it might here become dominant within a comparatively short time.

Like a twofold division, the clan may connote a number of different things to the minds of the Indians. The Omaha apparently used the term *tonwoggthe*, which means literally "place-of-habitation-of-those-related," *gthe* being the possessive-reflexive pronoun. It would thus seem to coincide with a geographical unit. The Quapaw use the term *enikucige*, evidently meaning "people"; the Kansa, the term *wayumida*, "those-who-sing-together"; the Osage, the term *pedu*, "fireplace"; and the Winnebago, the term *hokik'a'radjera*, "those-related-to-one-another." The remarks made about the specific names of the twofold divisions apply here. There is no reason for assuming that these are historically primary. A possible historical hint that they are not will be mentioned later.

The twofold division apparently regulates nothing but marriage. It has at the present time no other function, per se. Nevertheless, a number of ethnologists, and for that matter Indians themselves, speak of the functions of the two sides. If we consider the Omaha "circle," we notice that practically all the ceremonial functions are on one side; that among the Osage "war" and "peace" functions are found on both sides; and that, as a matter of fact, the functions of war and peace apparently relate to a certain reciprocal relation existing between the two divisions. Indeed, there is no reason to justify the use of these terms. Among the Iowa, J. O. Dorsey quotes Hamilton to the effect that the regulation of the hunt and other tribal affairs was in the hands of one "phratry" during the autumn and winter, and in that of the other in spring and summer. It is, however, doubtful whether this was the case. Among the Winnebago, as we shall see, the functions of war and peace were grouped together on one side, the functions of the other side being confined to those relating to the policing and regulation of the hunt. But the only fact of importance to us here is not whether there appears a balancing of functions connected with the social organization, but whether the Indian thinks there is; and here the consensus of opinion favors the view that no Omaha would, for example, suppose that the Hangacenu division, as such, was the custodian of the real pipes of peace. This belonged to the Inkesabe gens, and there is not a shred of evidence to support the view that it was delegated to that clan by the larger unit. The same reasoning applies to the Hanga clan. That the importance of the possessions of the latter clan played an important part in the associations of the Omaha, even to the extent

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manegi divisions, we, of course, know that the characteristics of the animal in question have nothing to do with the matter. We must then realize that we are dealing with reciprocal influences—of the religio-mythical conception of animals on the one hand, and of political functions of social units on the other. In some cases, such as the specific associations with the water-spirit, it is probable that the religio-mythological conception of the animal is dominant. The association of the thunderbird with fire has likewise not been due to any activity of the social unit; and thus examples might be multiplied. In this connection, the fact that animals with whom a multitude of associations have already been established are subsequently associated with social units is fundamental. From this point of view, the animal names of social organization are intrusive features, and we will consequently expect to find historical adjustments. This, we think, is what has taken place here. The animal name with its religio-mythological conceptions was a remarkably strong unit, and as a result reciprocal influences took place. Although the religio-mythological influence must thus have been marked, it appears to have changed none of the marital and other functions of the two divisions nor the political functions of the clans. What it did change, and change fundamentally, was the interpretation of the social organization.

Functions of the Twofold Division

The only function that the *waŋgeregi* and *manegi* divisions seem to have had was the regulation of marriage. A *waŋgeregi* man had to marry a *manegi* woman, and vice versa. The only other function was, according to some informants, reciprocal burial. Here the religio-mythological interpretations seem in part to have determined this relation, for a *manegi* man buried a *waŋgeregi* man because, as a "land division," it pertained to him to place a corpse in the earth. This, however, seems to be a doubtful function, for earth burial seems in olden times to have been characteristic only of the *manegi* division, the *waŋgeregi* clans employing scaffold burial. In addition, the burial relation was one of the many reciprocal duties of the "friend-clan," and if it was ever postulated of the *waŋgeregi* and *manegi*, this was likely due to the fact that the "friendship" relation seems also to have existed between two clans belonging to the two different divisions. According to one myth, however, the four clans of the *waŋgeregi* paired off as "friends" with four clans of the *manegi*. This would then be practically equivalent to saying that the *manegi* buried the *waŋgeregi*.

Thus far we have spoken only of the socio-political functions. The two divisions, however, play a part in a number of social and

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616 ceremonial connections: first, in the organization of the village;
614 second, in the arrangement of the clans while on the warpath; third, as the basis of organization at the "chief" feast; and lastly, as the basis of organization of the ceremonial lacrosse game.

616 According to the majority of the older people, when the old social
614 organization was still intact, each village was divided into two halves
621 by an imaginary line running due northwest and southeast, the *waŋgereği* clans dwelling in one half, with the chief's lodge in the south, and the *manegi* clans dwelling in the other half, with the bear or soldier lodge in the north (fig. 33). Although this arrangement has now become almost legendary, it was corroborated by many of the older people. To what extent every village was organized on this basis it is impossible to state. When this question was

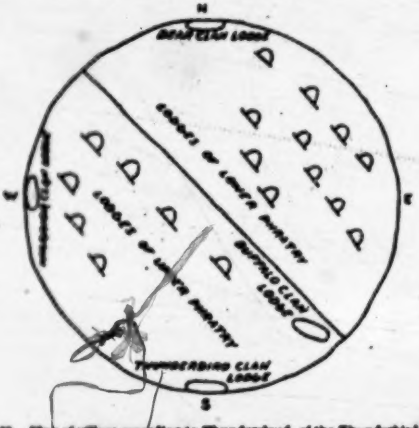

FIG. 33.—Plan of village according to Thunderhead, of the Thunderbird clan.

directly put to individuals, the answer was always in the affirmative. Quite a number of old individuals, however, denied vigorously that such had ever been the organization of the village, and claimed instead that the lodges of the Chief and the Soldier (Bear) clan were in the center of the village (fig. 34).

[115] In looking over the clan affiliations of the informants, we noticed, however, that the first arrangement was always given by members of the bird clans, and the second arrangement by members of the
[114] Bear clan and generally also by others on the *manegi* side. This fact, of course, makes the decision as to the relationship of these two types of village organization quite difficult. There can be no
● [582] question as to the existence of a twofold division of the tribe as far as marital relations were concerned, nor as to the segregation of specific clans in different villages.

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614 to it. There is no doubt but that in older times the Wolf clan played a far greater part in the affairs of the tribe than it does to-day, but that it ever was the principal clan of the tribe is out of the question.

614 114 With regard to Dorsey's postulation of a Bird (*wonigi*) clan, all that can be said is that the author obtained nothing confirmatory of it. It is just possible that Dorsey, who apparently did not know of the existence of the two phratries, misinterpreted a popular grouping of the four clans of the upper phratry, as representing a fundamental division. Historically it may, indeed, be true that the four clans of the upper phratry represent the subdivision of one clan.

The archaic names for the Wolf and Bear clans can not be translated with any degree of certainty any longer. It is barely possible that *degoni* means "lake band" and *teonank* means "blue back." Whether these are simply a second set of names, or whether they represent an historically older set, it is impossible to say to-day. The probabilities are that they are terms of respect.

The absence of the Warrior clan in Dorsey's list and the presence of a Hawk clan is rather interesting, for it shows that only 25 years ago the bird name for this clan was still in use. The Warrior and Hawk clans are identical, the latter being, however, the appellation that is preferred to-day.

In addition to the names given above, some of the clans have names indicative of respect, such as *hunge* for the Water-spirit, *haga* for the male members of the Bear clan, and *warowina* for the female members. It is also possible that the names *degoni* and *teonank*, mentioned by Dorsey for the Wolf and Bear clans, were terms of respect.

RECKONING OF DESCENT

614 Descent is patrilineal and a man's name generally belongs to his father's clan. Formerly there never was an exception to the rule that the name must belong to the father's clan, but of recent years [582] the Winnebago have become very lax in this particular. The irregularities in the giving of names were due to two causes—first, the intermarriage of Winnebago women with white men or with Indians of other tribes where the clan organization was either unknown or where descent was matrilineal, and, secondly, to the fact that the wife's parents were often in a better position to pay for the naming feast than the parents of the father. When a Winnebago woman marries a man who either has no clan or who reckons descent in the mother's line, the children are always considered as belonging to the mother's clan. This, however, lasts for only one generation. As a result the male children of such a marriage perpetuate the clan of the mother, although they transmit it thereafter in the male line.

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614 825 of human and animal forms. The latter conception is entirely a religious one, the former merely an extension of the genealogical tendency prevalent in many types of social organization. Instead of being simply descended from an individual in a given social unit, the bond of membership within this unit has been strengthened by the postulation of blood relationship to the clan animal. The idea of descent may thus be looked upon as one of the elements necessary for the stability of a political unit and may be far older than its 614 specific extension to those clan animals. A very illuminating example of a case in point can be selected from the history of the war 825 bundle in the Thunderbird clan. This bundle, like the others, was 778 obtained as a gift from the thunderbird in his capacity as a guardian spirit. The ceremony connected with it has, however, been markedly influenced by the clan organization and as a result we find descent [776] from the thunderbird and night-spirit, the two most important spirits in the ceremony, postulated of the original owner of the war bundle. The same tendency is exhibited in the numerous stories of the relation of an individual of the heroic age to a village. Here [773] the individual, generally a transformed guardian spirit or animal, comes to the aid of the people in their struggle against cannibals, defeats the latter and marries into the village, becoming thus the eponymous ancestor of the subsequent village group.

614 At the same time no strong correlation apparently exists between a totemic organization and the extension of descent to include the clan animal, this seemingly being a peculiarity of certain cultures only. Bonds other than descent from the animal are frequently found and must unquestionably be considered as older than the latter in a number of cases. On the Northwest coast, among the [771] Creek, Iroquois, and other tribes, descent from the totem is not found. Among the Winnebago themselves, in addition to the above, we find the idea that the Thunderbird clan takes its name from the fact of its members imitating the actions of that animal. Some versions of the origin myth give no reasons at all for the name, while in others an animal is killed, becomes reincarnated as a human being in a certain village, and the group takes its name from the fact. The descent from the totem, however, where it has not been primary, owing to its being a reflex expression of the social organization, quite generally supplants the other interpretation.

THE CLAN TIE

614 602 In intimate relation with the attitude toward the clan animal is the conception of the tie binding one member of the clan to another. In no case did an individual regard the tie between him and another member of the same clan as based upon descent from the same animal. [582] Blood relationship was always given as the reason for exogamy, as is

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shown by the very word for clan (*hokik'aradjera*). This concept of blood relationship was extended to the mother's clan generation. As we have pointed out, there is no reason for assuming that blood relationship is the primary explanation. The number of explanations for exogamy existing between one clan and another, and between the clans of one side as opposed to those of another, indicate clearly how readily interpretations of this phenomenon change. The Bear does not marry into the Wolf clan because they are friends (*hitcik'ere*), and does not marry into the Buffalo clan because it belongs to the same side, or no reason at all is assigned. Before the question of the clan tie can be thoroughly understood, the kind of blood relationship that is here meant must be more carefully defined. This is not a very general but a very definite notion, and may be said to extend not beyond four generations, in fact not beyond the direct knowledge of some living individual. This will be brought out more clearly by the following tables, based on actual genealogies:

(F) Thunderbird—Bear (M) 1.	or:
(F) Bear—Eagle (M) 2.	(F) Thunderbird—Bear (M) 1.
(F) Eagle—Wolf (M) 3.	(M) Bear—Eagle (F) 2.
(F) Wolf—Thunderbird (M) 4.	(M) Bear—Thunderbird (F) 3.
(M) Thunderbird—Bear (F) 5.	

All these marriages are permitted. In the first case a man marries into his maternal grandmother's maternal grandfather's clan; and in the second, a man marries into his paternal grandmother's clan. We will consequently have to consider blood relationship as extending only to four, sometimes three, generations, and have to regard the statement of blood relationship as the tie binding the members of the clan together as purely fictitious and secondary. That, nevertheless, this fictitious tie called forth the same feeling as that of real relationship, there is abundant evidence to show, and that it was of considerable importance in the development of the Winnebago clan-unit is borne out by the fact that the clan was called "those-who-are-relatives-to-one-another."

CLAN FUNCTIONS

The association of political functions with definite social units is a common phenomenon in most cultures where a tendency toward socialization exists. It is strictly comparable to the association of ceremonial and religious functions with ceremonial units. In this connection, the difference between an association with a group unit and an association with an individual is of fundamental importance. Is the former, for instance, merely an extension of the latter? This only individual history can demonstrate. Such a genetic relationship between the two depends probably as much upon the nature of the

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Arnold Winne-

bago told the author that long ago a young man wanted to marry a girl belonging to his phratry and refused to listen to the entreaties of his father and mother. Finally the father, in desperation, went over to the lodge of a man belonging to one of the clans into which the young man could marry and asked for one of the sacred possessions. It was, of course, refused, and when the man was asked what other requests he wished to make, he asked that the host's daughter be allowed to marry his son. This was, of course, granted, and thus the boy was compelled to marry into the proper phratry. 614 615 582 778

One Winnebago interpreted the custom in an entirely different way. Exactly how much importance is to be attached to this explanation it is hard to say. According to this informant, the insult lay not in going to the fireplace or taking a firebrand, but in asking for it. The insult apparently consists in not taking it for granted that anyone entering the lodge was permitted to do what he wished. In other words, his asking was a breach of etiquette. 614 372 689 [576]

The typical method of burial in the Thunderbird clan was scaffold burial. It has long since been discontinued.

The burial customs seem to have been the same for all the clans. It may, however, be that in former times there were slight differences. For instance, in the first version of the Thunderbird clan origin myth the statement is made that the branch of a tree was placed at the grave and a small stick, painted red, attached to it. The author has no recollection of ever hearing the same statement made in connection with any other of the clans. 614 764 [184]

There are four songs associated with the Thunderbird clan. These are supposed to have been sung by the clan ancestors when they came to this earth, and are now always sung when a member of the clan dies, and on a few other occasions. 614 [533]

According to one informant, members of the Elk, Warrior, Deer, and Buffalo clans acted as servants to the Thunderbird clan on various occasions. The same informant also claimed that the Warrior clansmen took specific orders from the Thunderbird clansmen when on the warpath. [554]

According to another informant, Thunderbird marks at death are a half circle on the forehead, made with charcoal. The proper marking is, however, that shown in plate 46. [765]

Two dog names used in the Thunderbird clan are obtained—*p'ᵉxkirutcga; ho-ixakitcᵉga.*

The only feast specifically connected with the Thunderbird clan was the so-called chief feast, of which a description will be found on page 318. One of the divisions of the war-bundle feast is often considered as sacred to the thunderbird, but this is always the deity thunderbird, not the ancestor of the clan. [796] [776]

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The Wolf Clan

INTRODUCTION

614 173 Three versions of the origin myth of this clan were obtained. The second is the most interesting, for it gives the popular account of descent from the clan animal-ancestor, although it claims that he, in turn, was created by Earthmaker. One other important characteristic is the statement that the original clan ancestor married a human being and that from them the present members of the clan trace their descent. A similar type of descent is mentioned in a number of myths that can best be interpreted as village origin myths. The ownership of war bundles has also at times been linked up with descent from some spirit.

614 Very little is known at the present time about the functions of the Wolf clan. It is quite clear, however, that the clan once possessed powers of considerable importance. From the fact that the Wolf people are still occasionally called "minor soldiers" and that they are so closely linked with the Bear clansmen it is likely that their functions were similar in nature to those of the Bear people. They probably assisted the latter.

[823] Water was sacred to the Wolf clan as it also was to the Water-spirit clan. A person was not allowed to tell a Wolf clansman that he looked like a wolf nor allowed to sit on a log in a Wolf clan lodge. [682] If a man kills a Wolf clansman accidentally and then sits on the log in a Wolf lodge, he has to be freed.

According to one informant, the Wolf clan at one time possessed four sticks, which they would use and with which they kept time while the drum was beaten.

● [582] According to one informant, the Wolf clansmen were the only people who were allowed to intermarry.

The Wolf clansmen give a feast when a Bear child is born, to show respect for their friend. They give the child a name of their own clan.

[796] The Wolf feast is held in the spring of the year, when the ice melts from the creeks and everything begins to grow. At the feast the [262 252] clan origin myth is told and the members of the other clans are allowed to hear it. The food used is boiled rice.

ORIGIN MYTHS

FIRST VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

614 539 776 [823] In the beginning the Wolf clan people came from the water. Therefore their bodies are of water—i. e., their sacred possession is water. There were four male wolves and four female wolves, and as they came up from the sea and swam toward the shore, one after the other, they caused waves to go before them. Therefore one of

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the characteristic feature of the organization, and this being the case, the probability of associations of warlike and peace attributes with animals may as much be ascribed to the influence of the social unit as vice versa. As regards such functions as the exogamy of the two divisions or that of the clans, or of the reciprocal burial relationship of the *waŋgeregi* and *maŋegi* divisions, we, of course, know that the characteristics of the animal in question have nothing to do with the matter. We must, then, realize that we are dealing with reciprocal influences, of the religio-mythological conception of animals on the one hand, and of political functions of social units on the other. In some cases, such as the specific associations of the water spirit, it is probable that the religio-mythological conception of the animal is dominant. The association of the thunderbird with fire has likewise not been due to any activity of the social unit; and thus examples might be multiplied. In this connexion, the fact that animals with whom a multitude of associations have already been established are subsequently associated with social units, is fundamental. From this point of view, the animal names of social organization are intrusive features, and we will consequently expect to find historical adjustments. This, we think, is what has taken place here. The animal name with its religio-mythological conceptions was a remarkably strong unit, even as compared with the political unit, and as a result reciprocal influences took place. Although the religio-mythological influence must have been marked, it appears to have changed none of the marital and other functions of the two divisions, nor the political functions of the clans. What it did change, and change fundamentally, was the interpretation of the social organization.

FUNCTIONS OF THE TWOFOLD DIVISION.

The only function that the *waŋgeregi* and *maŋegi* divisions seem to have had was the regulation of marriage. A *waŋgeregi* man had to marry a *maŋegi* woman, and vice versa. The only other function exercised by these divisions was, according to some informants, reciprocal burial. Here the religio-mythological interpretations seem in part to have determined this relation for a *maŋegi* man buried a *waŋgeregi* man because, as a "land

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individual cultures. Bonds other than descent from the animal are frequently found and must unquestionably be considered as older than the latter in a number of cases. On the Northwest Coast, among the Creek, Iroquois, and other tribes, descent from the totem is not found. Among the Winnebago themselves we find, in addition to the above, the idea that the Thunderbird clan takes its name from the fact that its members imitate the actions of that animal. Some versions of the origin myth give no reason at all for the name, while according to others an animal is killed and becomes reincarnated as a human being in a certain village, the group taking its name from this fact. The descent from the totem, however, where it has not been primary, owing to its being a reflex expression of the social organization, quite generally supplants the other interpretation.

The Clan Tie.

In intimate relation to the attitude toward the clan animal is the conception of the tie binding one member of the clan to another. In no case did an individual regard the bond between him and another member of the same clan as based upon descent from the same animal. Blood relationship was always given as the reason for exogamy, as is brought out by the word for clan (*hokik'aradjara*). This concept of blood relationship was extended to the mother's clan generation. As we have pointed out, there is no reason for assuming that blood relationship is the primary explanation. The number of explanations for exogamy existing between one clan and another, and that of the clans of one side as opposed to those of another, indicate clearly how readily interpretations of this phenomenon change. The Bear does not marry into the Wolf clan because they are friends (*hitcak'ere*), and does not marry into the Buffalo clan because it belongs to the same side, or no reason is assigned at all. Before the question of the clan tie can be thoroughly understood, the kind of blood relationship that is here meant must be more carefully defined. This is not a general but a very definite notion, and may be said not to extend beyond four generations, in fact, not beyond the direct knowledge of some living individual.

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582 This will be brought out more clearly by the following tables, 614 based on actual genealogies: 602

(F) Thunderbird—
(F) Bear —Bear (M) 1
(F) Eagle —Eagle (M) 2
(F) Wolf —Wolf (M) 3
(M) Thunderbird—Thunderbird (M) 4
—Bear (F) 5

or:

(F) Thunderbird—
(M) Bear —Bear (M) 1
(M) Bear —Eagle (F) 2
—Thunderbird (F) 3

All these marriages are permitted. In the first case a man marries into his maternal grandmother's maternal grandfather's clan; and in the second a man marries into his paternal grandmother's clan. We will consequently have to consider blood relationship as extending only to four, sometimes three, generations, and have to regard the statement of blood-relationship as the tie binding the members of the clan together as purely fictitious and secondary. That, nevertheless, this fictitious tie called forth the same feeling as that of real relationship, there is abundant evidence to show, and that it was of considerable importance in the development of the Winnebago clan-complex is borne out by the fact that the clan was called "those-who-are-relatives-to-one-another."

THE SOCIO-POLITICAL COMPLEX.

Clan Functions.

174 The association of political functions with definite social 614 units is a common phenomenon for most cultures where a 182 tendency toward socialization exists. It is strictly comparable to the association of ceremonial and religious functions with ceremonial units. In this connexion, the difference between an association with a group unit and an association with an individual, is of fundamental importance. Is the former, for instance, merely an extension of the latter? This only individual

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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dividual and clan *hitcak'ɔ'ro*, on the other. In the former there is the bond of blood, real or fictitious, in the latter only that of mutual service. On the other hand, while the *hidek'-hitcɛgɛ* relation, the individual *hitcak'ɔ'ro*, and the clan *hitcak'ɔ'ro* may be all of different historical origin, they are psychologically the same. The postulation even of a fictitious blood bond between the different individual *hitcak'ɔ'ro* and the clan *hitcak'ɔ'ro* is not unheard of. For the *hitcak'ɔ'ro* relation of individuals this is always possible, for if one individual dies, his *hitcak'ɔ'ro* is generally adopted to fill his place. On the other hand, the myths seem to indicate that no blood bone was regarded as existing between them, for they generally married each other's sisters.

What historical relation the clan *hitcak'ɔ'ro* bears to the individual *hitcak'ɔ'ro* relation of individuals, it is impossible to state, but the remarks made before are pertinent here, and no genetic relationship need be postulated.

The "Servant" Relationship.

The *hitcak'ɔ'ro* relation is entirely one between equals, irrespective of the inequality of one member of this grouping, with regard to the other, in social standing. The Bear clan is, for instance, incomparably greater than the Wolf, but this is entirely forgotten here. In addition to this "friendship," there seems to exist a faintly developed "servant" relation. The concept of servant is not that conveyed by the English word. It means essentially that a certain clan performs a service for another without that specific service being reciprocal. Among the Winnebago such a relation exists between the Thunderbird and Buffalo, and the Thunderbird and Elk clans. This is not to be confused with the general subordination of all the other clans to the Thunderbird and Bear clans when these exercise their specific governmental functions. This "servant" relationship between the Thunderbird and Buffalo clans is politically expressed by the fact that a member of the latter visits the chief every morning to receive certain directions from him, which he then announces to the whole village. But this relationship expresses itself in another more striking manner—the

[i.e. - "friendship" relation - ANALYST]

2. Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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lodge of the Buffalo clan is on the *waŋgerɛgi* side of the village circle, although the Buffalo clan is one of the *maŋɛgi* clans. In explanation of this fact we might, on the one hand, assume that its relationship to the chief clan influenced its position in the village, or that it always was there. The latter seems rather improbable, in the face of the unanimity of agreement as to its inclusion among the *maŋɛgi* clans, and we may, therefore, provisionally accept the hypothesis of a shifting of position from one side to the other. As this might entail a possible readjustment of the Buffalo clan, as regards exogamy, we tried to obtain as many instances of Buffalo intermarriages as possible. No case of intermarriage with the *waŋgerɛgi* clans was found. However, as only eight cases were instanced, no safe inference can be drawn.

The "servant" relation of the Elk clan to the Thunderbird expresses itself in the fact that the former takes care of the fire-places of the latter while on the warpath, etc., and that the members are supposed to distribute the fire to the other clans. In the social customs this relationship is perhaps shown by a certain preference of the Elk to intermarry with the Thunderbird clan. This preference is not reciprocal. The word preference is used with the added significance of being consciously expressed, and differs from a tendency to intermarriage which may exist between the clans, but which is not present in their consciousness. Some Winnebago informants even went so far as to postulate a *hitcak'ɔ'ro* relation between the Elk and Thunderbird clan.

Among the Osage a marked development of the "servant" relationship is found.

Viewed from a broad point of view, the reciprocal social and religious services of one clan toward another in the *hitcak'ɔ'ro* and "servant" relations are similar in nature to the political functions of the clan, and they may be taken as another indication of the association of political, social, and religious functions with a strongly individualized social unit.

The Specific Possessions of the Clan.

Among the Omaha, a number of clans have in their possession certain objects, around which not merely the clan but also

3:Michelson E-4 (no date)1935

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In each village, the two civil chiefs, appoint all the officers, deemed necessary, civil and military, who obey them implicitly. There are two ways of arriving at these high stations, by birth and by election. When the father dies, if he has a son, who has arrived at the age of manhood, and who bids fair to make a good chief—that is, if he possesses a good form, has good bodily powers and mental faculties—is brave, sedate, wise and prudent, he generally succeeds his father in the government, on his father's demise. If the chief, at his death, leave no son who is qualified for the high office of chief, but wills it to some other person, he succeeds to the government. If the chief has no son at his death, it is commonly the case, that his brother's son succeeds him. The line of succession may run out for want of a lawful heir, which is always supplied by an election. It may be changed too, where the heir is unqualified for the station. Great deference is always paid to the will of the dying chief, but every such case is always laid before a full national council, whose decision is final (p. 97).

A chief may be degraded from his rank for bad conduct. . . .

There is in every tribe, what answers to a standing army among us. The profession of arms holds out, to the great mass of the common people, the only road to the temple of fame. . . . The young man, who aspires to the honorable distinction of a "brave" or warrior, must exhibit such traits of character, as are deemed necessary for a soldier to possess, before he can be admitted into the army. When admitted, he wears on his head just as many feathers of the bald eagle, as he has slain human beings, and the size of the feathers indicate the size of his victims. . . . If the warrior has taken a captive, he has a human hand as large as life, painted either on his face, or on some part of his body, or on his blanket, some individuals have several such hands painted upon them (p. 98).[1]

At the head of the army, belonging to each tribe, there is a person who occupies the same station as a General does with us, and he appoints all the inferior officers. The chiefs when met in council, call into it, their warriors, with whom they consult, but frequently they are called to receive the orders, which are obeyed to the letter. This council call before them, persons who are interested in the trial . . . (pp. 98, 99).

If the Senate of the United States is the mildest, the most patriotic and wisest legislative assembly in the civilized world, as it truly is, the Winnebago council, is decidedly at the head of the savage world. . . . The great body of the people have very little influence, almost none, with this council, and they never appear before it, unless they are summoned to attend it.—They have no voice in electing the chiefs and in fact no political influence. The civil chiefs and the chief warriors, have in their hands, the whole government of the community, and they govern as they please. Disobedience to the orders of the rulers is punished with death, though, like the British nation, the Indians are not savages enough to cut the traitor into quarters after hanging him until he is dead (pp. 99, 100).

The female part of it, exercised the same influence among the women, that the chiefs did among the men, and the presents they expected from us, had to be better, than those given to the common people. The daughter of a chief, never mar-

[1] Quite different from the data given by Radin, The Winnebago Tribe, pp. 161, 162.

3: Michelson E-4 (no date) 1935
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554 561 582 ries into a family below her's in dignity. The pride originating in birth, is as deeply seated in the hearts of those who are nobly descended, among the natives of the Northwest, as it is among the petty princes of Germany.

625 It is customary for the chiefs to appoint two soldiers, in each village to keep order in it, and they faithfully do so (p. 100).

431 624 In each tribe, some one man acts as a divider, by order of the civil chiefs, and by general consent. Whenever we made the men any presents, of pipes, paints, tobacco, or any thing else, the self same men, if Winnebagoes were the Indians receiving the presents, appeared, took charge of the property, and divided it in the most equitable manner, among all present at the time. They reserved nothing for themselves, generally, but held up their empty hands to show their disinterestedness.

[171] If the Sauks and Foxes received presents, two men, one for each tribe, acted as dividers, and the same individuals always performed the same duty (pp. 100–101).

554 551 614 . . . "The rolling Thunder," "the Yellow Thunder," "the Distant Thunder," &c., are individuals among the Winnebagoes, who possess great weight of character; and that tribe to which belong men, who stand high on their roll of fame, for their distinguished valor in War, for their consummate prudence, experience and wisdom in the national councils, is emphatically called, "the thunder tribe" (p. 124).

114 There are other items appurtenant to Winnebago ethnology in Atwater's work; some to that of the Sauks and Foxes; some to tribes of the upper Mississippi valley in general: there are some acute statements regarding the chronology of the populating of America.

171 174 614 [114] [648] [551] A "turtle" gens does not occur in the lists of Morgan, Dorsey, and Radin, and Radin specifically denies that there is such a Winnebago gens. He also states that almost all informants claimed that the Snake and Fish clans (gentes) were recent to the tribe. However, as special names "go with" fixed gentes, by examining the lists of the signers of the treaties between the Winnebago and the United States, it becomes clear that a member of the Snake gens signed the treaty of August 19th, 1825 as well as the treaty of August 25th, 1828. And a Snake clan exists among the Ponca, Iowa, Oto-Missouri, Quapaw, as well as some non-Siouan tribes.[10] Also it may be observed that among the Osage and Quapaw we have a Fish clan (used rather loosely). So too "Turtle" as the name of a gens (sub-gens) among the Siouan tribes Omaha, Kansa, Quapaw, and Osage,[11] and elsewhere.

[551] And Carrymaunee (Karamanu, etc.), "Walking Turtle,"[12] signed more

[10] See the important theoretical discussion by Lowie in American Anthropologist, Vol. 36, 1934, pp. 327–28; cf. also Radin, the Winnebago Tribe, p. 182; Fletcher and La Flesche, The Omaha Tribe (Twenty-seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology), pp. 38, 39.

[11] Among the Omaha and Osage "the turtle carriers or bearers" and "Turtle-carriers" respectively; "Carries-a-turtle-on-his-back" among the Kansa: observe that according to the above Carrymaunee "carried" a large painted tortoise on his back.

[12] The phonetic restoration is presumably Kĕramani; mani means "to walk," as can be seen from old vocabularies, etc., as well as the personal names given by Radin in his The Winnebago Tribe and the Winnebago text by Radin in the Siouan sketch in Handbook of Ameri-

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12

and coffee, which were, of course, unknown to them before the coming of the White Man. Other tribes in Wisconsin have made no attempt to set up their own words for these, but call them by their English names as nearly as they can pronounce them. This trait of the Winnebago is often amusing. For example the watermelon was unknown to them until about seventy-five years ago. The first recipient of a watermelon among them considered it a pumpkin, cut it up into small pieces, and boiled it in a pot. The resultant product was scarcely edible, so led to the appellation of "wicawasukela"—"a pumpkin that did'nt get ripe." But later, they discovered that the whites ate them just as they were; and upon trying this they discovered their merit, and have been very fond of them ever since. But the first name stuck, and it is thus called to this day.

While we had met Winnebago before this summer, we had never attempted to discourse at length on their uses of plants. In 1923, we first met Frank Smith, "makiwika," with his wife who was making baskets, in Minocqua where we admired her art. Every year since we have seen Frank at some Indian pow-wow or other. During the "Pageant of Progress," in Milwaukee, July, 1926, Frank and his new Ojibwe wife were at the Indian Village on the lake front, with Mr. H. L. Mumm, of Wausau, demonstrating Indian arts and crafts. There, too, we met two other Winnebago workers, Jim Henniger and his wife, although the Indians in the village proper were all full-blooded Ojibwe from Lac Court Oreilles, Wisconsin. The museum is also fortunate in having the friendship of Ulysses A. White, of Wisconsin Rapids, who was formerly employed in Milwaukee. Mr. White is a pure blooded Winnebago, as is his wife, a quite uncommon occurrence in these times of inter-tribal marriages. He introduced to the Museum, John Bear, of Wisconsin Rapids, another old Winnebago Indian, through whom Mr. W. C. McKern, Associate Curator of Anthropology, of the Museum, has been able to collect some interesting ancient Winnebago stories. Mr. Bear spent the entire winter of 1927-1928 at the Museum, and was helped in his work by Mr. White. All of this preliminary work was the subject of several conferences between the writer and Mr. McKern at which we became acquainted with the linguistics of the Winnebago and listed the plant names used in the various stories.

The first trip of the summer was to Trempealeau, where the Museum was conducting archeological investigations which the writer, as President of the Wisconsin Archeological Society, wished to see. Furthermore Mr. McKern had written that there were Winnebago Indians in Trempealeau. These proved to be a family living in the old brewery at the edge of the village, but they were from Winnebago, Nebraska, and were not familiar with the Wisconsin plants. The field party, however, interested us for a week. The Museum camp was established in Perrot State Park, on the banks of the Trempealeau River near its